1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5) 1938 Pukapukans

526 other players in the other circle. Leweke calls out, "Kaina, kaina na wale takataka o Leweke (Levi)" (Somebody has broken into the storehouses of Leweke or Levi). Then he rushes for the other players, who must run from their circle to his circle without being caught or tapped with the stick he is permitted to carry. He is allowed to whip with his stick any player he catches, because he has caught the "thief" who has been stealing his *takataka* nuts. Those caught must leave the game. Now standing in the second circle, Leweke repeats his call, and rushes for the remaining players, who try to run in safety to the opposite circle. This goes on until he has caught all the players. If a second game is to be played, another player is chosen to be Leweke. After this game, a group often goes on to play introduced games, common western games like "The fox and the hens", or "The cat and the chickens". The cat stands in front of and facing a line of players, hens and chicks. The cat asks, "Who is at the end of the line?" The hens answer, "Nobody." The cat says, "Shall I go see?" The hens say, "Certainly." Before the cat tries to pass the line of hens in order to attack the chickens at the end of the line, all dance together, and then the cat fights the hens who try to protect their chickens.

524 *Tolotolounga*, played by children from 8 to 10 years. Two equal teams are chosen. One team sits comfortably on the ground. The other team retires behind a house where it selects two of its members, one to act as a crier (*valovalo*), and the other to crawl (*totolo*) behind the *takapau* mat which the crier carries upright covering the crawler's feet and body. The pair thus approach the seated team. The crier calls out, "Tolotolounga, tolotolounga na ngalo, koai?" (Crawling, crawling, he has disappeared, who is it?). Now the members of the waiting team are collectively given one guess as to the name of the hidden crawler. If they guess correctly, the crawler's team is *mate* (dead). If they guess incorrectly, the crawler's team scores a win and then comes out again. Not until the crawler's team dies, does the sitting team get its turn.

Poi, another guessing game. Two or more teams sit outside. A player (A) from one team stands up and looks in front of him. A player (B) from the other team comes up behind him, and facing the same way as A, places his hands over A's eyes, and then lightly and quickly touches the back of one of A's legs. A has to guess which of his legs has been touched. If he guesses correctly then the two teams change places. If not, then the first team continues to guess.

Dances and Songs

857 535 177 The locus for the children's dancing and singing is usually the beach. Children dance any time during the day or evening, just as the spirit moves them, in groups consisting of boys alone, or mixed groups. Much of this imitates adult activities; whenever adults are practicing dances, groups of children gather on the beach to perform to the best of their ability the same dances.

859 593 The dancing is of the modern Tahitian style, with all the dancers in line performing the same rapid movements of arms, legs, and hips to the rhythm of modern Tahitian, Samoan, or Lower Cook Islands songs. The individualized Samoan type of dancing is absent. Some songs (*ewa*, modern) seem to be improvised as the occasion demands, and the children are expert at fitting melody and words together. The words of many children's songs were recorded; most of them, however, are not translatable because they consist mainly of nonsense jingles which fit in with a particular melody. A few translations which it has been possible to make are given to suggest the

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5) 1938 Pukapukans

his body. They immediately disengage and walk back to their shelters. A man may stop the bout after only a few seconds' wrestling if he feels so inclined, simply by relaxing. This he does because he is out of breath or because he feels that his opponent is too strong for him. There is no desire to triumph over an opponent who is weakened by exhaustion or lack of strength. This would be considered no victory at all, for the opponent is simply not worthy of one's own superior strength or skill. Thus a draw results from a contest between two men so well matched that it is futile to struggle and exhaust themselves; or from a contest between a champion and a weakling, where neither considers it any disgrace to retire with fictitious equal honors when the odds are so heavily in favor of one. This concept of the drawn bout may also have been reinforced by the fact that many men wish to wrestle during the one day and it would be selfish to spend too much time over any one contest.

The men of each village are grouped into three classes of wrestlers (*kau tuvu*, strong men): *mua vaka* (canoe bow), a team of younger men; *loto vaka* (canoe middle) a team of middle-aged men; and *muli vaka* (canoe stern), a team of old, experienced veterans. The *mua vaka* wrestle first during the day, then the *loto vaka*, and towards the end of the day, the *muli vaka*. In general, men from corresponding teams wrestle with each other, but in theory a man has a right to wrestle with whom he pleases; and should a young man be bold or disrespectful, an older man may wrestle with him and try to throw him in order to subdue his forwardness. Some contests are also provoked by a desire to pay off injuries due to previous ridicules, slanders, or alleged adulteries. To fell all opponents is *papaki*. For variety, an experienced champion may challenge two men to wrestle with him at one time. If he defeats these two, he goes on to wrestle with three men and more until he is finally thrown. This type of wrestling is *fulunga*.

The behavior of the spectators during the bouts is quiet and restrained. The people sit or lie about in the shelters but watch intently. They do not coach from the sidelines or interfere in any other way. As soon as a bout is won, however, the villagers are on their feet to commence the taunting chant (*tila*) before the champion is back in the shelter. Many chants are composed for the occasion, and old ones are practiced on the night previous to the contest. The words insult the other village and boast of the prowess of the home village (1). They are accompanied by dance movements of the arms, legs, buttocks, and abdomen in rhythm to the chanting and handclapping. The enthusiasm is the same whether the victory is gained by a recognized champion or by some obscure weakling over another weakling. The chant finished, the spectators quickly subside and await the next contest. Little notice is taken of a draw. The wrestlers sit to the side and quietly talk among themselves in the intervals between bouts. The children play up and down the wrestling field. Though driven away at regular intervals by a shower of pebbles, they are soon back again, running foot races and wrestling among themselves. Spectators often find these more diverting to watch than the adult contests.

Shoulder-pushing contests (*lukipoko*) were formerly in vogue but are not popular today. In an exhibition the young men had to be coached by the older people before they could proceed. *Lukipoko* contests between two or more young men in the god house after a seclusion period were called *tukupua* (p. 283). In the exhibition contest of shoulder pushing were three teams, each consisting of five men.

The teams line up in three files. Two teams, A and B, kneel on the ground with 5 yards between the two files, facing the third team, C, also in file, about 10 yards in front. All three teams perform the *tupe* ritual. Team C advances in zigzag fashion with short quick steps. As C gets close to A and B, it selects one team to engage. The two first men of A and C engage shoulders and push (*tutuki*) each other, C men push-

2:Macgregor E-2 (1933) 1935 Pukapukans

The dances seen during an evening's entertainment were performed by a small number of people in Loto village: 535● 177

Men and women danced together in four lines, the men performing one set of movements in unison, the women performing another set. In one dance the men brought their knees up high in a stationary run or kicked their heels behind them, while the women moved their hips rapidly from side to side, keeping the upper part of their bodies motionless. The gestures and steps of this dance and several others recorded in motion pictures are identical with rapidly performed dances of Tahiti. Each dance was led by one man, who made gestures and remarks amusing to the natives.

The accompaniment was kept with an improvised drum made of a roll of mats. The rhythm was first given, and after a long roll of the drumsticks the dance commenced. Throughout the dances, the dancers sang songs which they called *'imine*, a Tahitian word derived from the English "hymn."

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533 has provided a socially approved outlet for feelings of aggres-
154 sion and hatred. The glorification of the individual which is
578 implicit in the controlling patterns of Pukapukan society is evident also in the love chants and these too, have provided socially approved channels for the expression of sentiments of love and affection that might otherwise not find outlet in the somewhat matter of fact behavior which characterizes the relations between the sexes. It is no exaggeration to say that an ability to understand and feel all that is implied in the chants is the best possible way of gaining an appreciation of native Pukapukan culture. They literally provide a source book to the ideals and practices of this culture.

533 After each of the fishing competitions held during our visit, and during the sports competitions held at the New Year, each village composed and sang special chants celebrating its victories. In the fishing competitions for instance, on the night before the big public feast marking the conclusion of the fishing, men, women, and children of the winning village gathered together on the village meeting ground just after dusk and practiced throughout the night until dawn old and new chants in preparation for the public chanting on the last day. Again during the visit of the villages to the reserves to prepare copra, one or more nights each week was devoted by the adults of Ngake village to the learning of new chants and the practicing of old ones. These chant practices were alter-
[181] nated with nights of Christian hymn singing. The contrast provided between the sentiments of the more popular Christian hymns and the vigorous paganism of old chants symbolizes in striking fashion the apposition of ideals that characterizes Pukapukan society today.

Dancing

535 Two types of dancing, one old, the other new, are in vogue
527 in Pukapuka today. The modern type known by the Rarotongan
[177] name upaupa, is said to be derived from Tahiti and is performed by children on all occasions and by adults at Christmas time. On Christmas day, the men (or women, in alternate years) of each village form dancing teams which visit in turn each of the other two villages, where they are entertained by the women (or men) of the village for whom they dance on the village meeting place. The dancers are grouped in four lines facing a leader who sets rhythm and movements. As the dancing proceeds women join the group and dance opposite the men, files of women alternating with files of men. After dancing, the visitors are given a feast, and then move to the next village to repeat

535 the dancing and eating, their place in the first village being
527 taken by a team of dancers from the second village. The dancing is accompanied by rhythms beaten on wooden gongs, drums, and old tins. Older men or women accompany the dance teams. It is bad taste for a man to stay in the home village to watch the visit of the men from other villages for this would be spying on the women of his own village. Similarly, a woman does not stay home to watch the dancing of the women visitors to her own village. It is also bad taste for anyone to gossip at the end of the day about events in another village. It sometimes happens that as the dancers warm up, both men and women dance with an abandon that might otherwise be cause for jealousy.

535 The old form of dancing (yaka, pl. yayaka) accompanies chanting. It is seen today when victories in fishing and wrestling contests are celebrated. Rhythm is kept by chanting and by pounding on wooden gongs and formerly also on a shark skin drum. Today as formerly, the people of the village celebrating a victory decorate themselves in the green leaf kilts and shoulder leis (yei) made from materials associated specifically with the village in question. [see 1: Beaglehole and Beaglehole, pp. 153-154, category 116--analyst.] Men and women line up in file and dance along the road to the meeting place, today the village church yard, where they group themselves together at one end. They then begin to chant and dance. One person, usually the best male dancer, acts as a natural leader and sets the spirit of the dance movements by dancing alone in front of the main group. I cannot present an analysis of the dance movements, but a list of native terms defined by Talainga will give some indication of their nature:

Yaka in its narrower meaning, refers to the general swaying of the arms; inoino is synonomous.
Tuvali: to move the elbows up and down with outstretched arms.
Yayae: to move the knees in and out.
Pepeke: to sway the body up and down on tip toes.
Kapakapa is a fluttering movement of the arms suggestive of the movement of the wings of a bird.
Tutuku is the lowering of the body by bending the knees, or the rhythmic stooping of the body forward.
Wakamanga ki lunga is the raising of the arms to the level of the shoulders; tuku ki lalo is to lower the arms again.
Pu nou is to dance with the body bent forward from the hips.

535 Wuli vakevake is to dance by tilting the body backward from the hips.
Wuli pulou is to turn the palms of the hands downward; wuli vakevake te lima is to turn the palms upward.
Kakalo na mata is to dance with wide open and staring eyes.
Kekemo na mata is to dance with the eyes half closed.
Yopo te leo is to dance with a protruding tongue.
Wakaponga te ngutu is to distort the face with mouth in an attitude of defiance.
Wakamanga te ngutu is to dance with wide open mouth.
Wakanuku te tua is to dance rhythmically raising and lowering the abdomen and back, usually with knees and hands on ground.
Wakamakaka is to bend the head and shoulders backward.
Takawitiwiti is to squirm and move all parts of the body rapidly.
Wakaeiei is to sway the hips and buttocks forward and backward, and from side to side.

Several phases of the dance, no longer performed, were described. To dance moving forward out of line (atu) and then back into line is wakaoloolo. This was done by an especially good dancer who wished to come forward to display his skill. The term vilo refers to dancing in circular formation. Depending on the number of dancers, several concentric circles with eight to twelve dancers in each danced round in the same direction. A dancer might change from one circle (also called atu) to another during the dance, and the general effect of the vilo was one of circular movement with frequent interchange between the several circles. In the kaputata movement, the dancers lined up in concentric circles, with only alternate circles facing in the same direction, and all moved at once. Further variety was achieved by following dance phases in which the dancers moved in rows.

In general the movement of the body accompanying the chanting is a matter only of the rhythmic motions described. But, in addition, simple actions mentioned in the words of the chant are described with gestures of one or two hands to indicate, for instance, falling, throwing, or distance. The best dancers are those who most consistently and gracefully keep the body and buttocks swaying. Those who perform the most spectacular or energetic movements are not considered especially good dancers, for their movements do not involve skillful control of all parts of the body.

The Pukapukans do not seem to have had named dances or series of dances as, for instance, Canoe Dance, Talo Dance,

535 or other possible named dances. No such names occur in any
533 of the chants or stories and informants knew of none. Dancing
527 was solely an accompaniment for chanting. Movements might vary for the same chant on different occasions. Selection of chants and dance movements for the special dancing that took place at the time of the morning rising of the Pleiades seems to have been equally arbitrary. There seems also to have been no connection between dancing and specifically religious ceremonial. Group chanting and dancing occurred at any time of the year, but more frequently during the six months pleasure-making following the rising of the Pleiades, after the frequent sports and fishing contests.

535 It is certain that the dancers became worked up to a high degree of emotional tension as the dancing continued throughout the day. Rapid movement, repeated rhythm, bodily contact, the suggestive effect of the words of the chants and the action accompaniments, all conduced to heighten emotion which found an outlet as the day came to an end in a wild burst of passionate lovemaking, mentioned in many of the chants recorded. The lovemaking was not promiscuous in the sense that avoidance or kinship tapus were broken down, but only in the sense that a certain license prevailed which overstepped rights based on marriage, and for the breaking of which there was no cause for anger or jealousy. It is again permissible
[154] to suggest that in a closely confined community such as Puka-
[578] puka, recurring periods of license acted as channels for the outlet of emotions directed towards the opposite sex which if cooped up might break out in anti-social violence.

Translation of Chants.

533 For the purposes of presentation, the chants have been
195 broken up into relatively self-contained line units so that the translation may be followed with greater ease. In actual chanting, however, each chant is recited as a unit and is not broken up into meaning phrases. The chanting is a continuous flow of sound interrupted only by breath pauses, but even these do not necessarily occur in group chanting when continuity is maintained by some chanters while others pause for breath. The chants recorded by informants without punctuation of any sort, were broken up into meaningful units in the course of translation.

Difficulties in translation resulted from the common use of clipped, shorthand expression, allusive and indirect reference to historical and religious aspects of the culture, the frequent use of hyperbole and obscure metaphors, and the wealth of double, symbolic meanings attached to many crucial words,

FIELD NOTES: MISCELLANEOUS

527 Christmas activities.

515 Christmas day itself was not marked by any particular activity save the women's tutaka and dancing. Post-Christmas activities have been the men's cricket matches.

Women's tutaka: The men of each village stay at home, and the women of each village, married, unmarried, young and old, including also an assortment of children, visit each village in turn not their own and dance for the men. They then eat and afterwards dance some more. The women of Yato thus visit Loto and Ngake, the women of Loto visit Yato and Ngake and the women of Ngake visit Loto and Yato.

526 Preparations: For about three weeks before Christmas day,
535 the women have been practising cricket in the afternoons and practising upaupa in the early evenings, later when the full moon came up, practising upaupa in the evening by moonlight. Men beat the gong and empty kerosene tins to mark the rhythm, and usually a crowd of men stand by to watch, pass witticisms or criticisms. The inevitable children play about among dancers or bystanders.

535 Dancing: Women's dancing is vaiau. The women stand in two rows, one woman behind the other, facing a leader who calls out directions for the dance and who also dances. (note that the women are in two single files) The dance movements are simple and there is little variety in the movements. They consist of brief waving hand motions, shuffling of the feet from side to side, or forwards and backwards, turning motions with a short jump, placing one foot forward and then drawing it back, and along with almost all these motions, wobbling of the backside and stomach from side to side, or else thrusting the backside forward and then drawing it back. Backside and stomach motions may be slow or quick according to the rhythm of the particular dance.

527 Tutaka: The men are looked upon as the hosts for the day.
574 The women prepare the tale for the feast, but a meeting of
[562] the men is held some days before Christmas to decide upon the other foods to be offered to the visiting women. In the case of Yato, the men decided to present fruits from Kotawa, nuts and deep sea fish. Christmas was on Tuesday. On the preceding Thursday, 30 lopas were commissioned to visit Kotawa, and bring back from there 60 nuts per man, also the necessary fruits, papaya and limes. Monday was set aside for fishing outside the reef, but the weather was too bad to venture outside the reef, so at low tide on Monday night, all the men went fishing inside the lagoon. The resulting fish was of poor quality, but it was the best procurable. Early on

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527 Christmas morning all went to church. After this the men
574 hurried back to their villages to set out the food. In Yato the feast was set out on forms in the mission meeting house.

Later in the morning, a beating of drums was heard, and the women from Loto appeared along the causeway coming to the village. They were dressed in white and each had round her head a tiale and a wala yet. They were accompanied by other women not dancers, dressed in their best, together with children. The women slowly walk round the village, looking in at each house, (the houses have been specially tidied up
527 for the visit)..tutaka is "to visit"... and then back to the ala
535 by the meeting house. The gong begins the rhythm and the women begin to dance. The dancing is without much enthusiasm at first, as the women gradually work up form. All the men of Yato group themselves round the women, watching and enjoying the spectacle. Then one or two lopas get up and dance with the women, dancing alongside them or in front by the leader. An old woman, a sort of chaperone, walks up and down the lines of dancers and reproves, with a switch on the back from a stick she carries, any unseemly conduct on the part of her charges. After perhaps half an hour of dancing, all stop to eat. The woman are conducted to the meeting house, and the men wait on them, urging them to eat to repletion. Eating finished, the women go back to the ala again and the dancing commences anew. This time there is much more enthusiasm and spirit in the dancing. Two files of lopas align themselves alongside the files of women and dance with them. Hip movements and backside movements of men and women become more pronounced and the dance most favored is one which finishes by the lopa placing his leg and foot around his female partner's waist, dancing meanwhile on the other foot, coming very close to her waist and thighs, he facing her, and then for both partners to thrust forward at the same time their backsides with short energetic movements, obviously imitating the movements of copulation. This movement appears to be much enjoyed by all and it is repeated over and over again, accompanied by much emotional excitement. (The chaperone was not in evidence at this time.) After much of this and similar mixed dancing, drums are heard announcing the visit of Ngake women. The Loto women stop, and go off to Ngake. Yato men hurry off to clear away the remains of the feast and to prepare more refreshment for the newcomers. Ngake women come into the village, tutaka, dance in the ala, feast, dance some more, with the lopa accompanying them, and finding opportunities for the copulatory symbolism. In this connection the following two incidents were noted:

527 In the morning the Loto women had danced in a place on the
535 ala where I could see them from the house. In the afternoon,
834 the Henrys [the resident agent and his wife] visited and sat
152 on the verandah. The Ngake women refused to dance where I could see them, and danced on that part of the ala which is hidden from our house by an intervening house. The reason: knowing the Henrys' victorian sensibilities, they knew full well that Henry would disapprove of the dancing. Rather than curb their fun, for which indeed there was no reason to do, they referred to remain hidden, an implication being, I think, that the women and men are fully aware of the sexual symbolisms involved in this apparently mild Christmas dancing.

The second incident: During the course of Ngake dancing, P [Pearl Beaglehole] went out to dance with the Ngake women. Yato men, half in jest, half in seriousness, begged her to leave and not watch their dancing, saying that she would tell their wives afterwards what she saw. The implication here being, one supposes, that the proper place for a Yato woman was with the other women of this village, who might enjoy themselves how they could for this day with men from the other villages, but that for this day at least, Yato men should have full right to enjoy themselves with women from the other two villages, unespied upon by a woman from their own village, who might later tell tales 'out of school'.

[178] Note that throughout this day of dancing in the village, there
[182] has been no suggestion that any actual promiscuity in the
[154] sexual sense has occurred. It is possible, however, that if the idea of tutaka dancing is old, occurring formerly perhaps, at the time of takalunga of the rising of the stars mataliki, when much dancing and sport seems to have taken place, then sexual promiscuity in connection with it very likely occurred also, and in this case a day and mechanism was elaborated for conventionalising with social approval what would otherwise be likely to cause rents in the social fabric.

527 Finish of Tutaka: All three teams of women dancers proceed to Loto village, and dance competitively against each other to determine the best dancing team. Ngake was adjudged the best by the men of Yato, and the latter presented to the women of Ngake a shark-skin drum made by Makilae. The women danced until dusk and then the day was ended, save for a hangover of stomach disorders and mild fevers.

526 Men's activities: During the past weeks the men have been
461 also practising cricket, usually every afternoon and early evening. This in preparation for the series of cricket matches taking place on the three days after Boxing Day. During this practise period, other work has been at a standstill, and